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that be as a disloyalty to the ideals of Socialism and obstinately refuse to see things in a level-headed way. But the forces that lead out of this dilemma are at work. It may be readily seen that there exists an interdependence of the forces that work for greater civic freedom and of those that assert Germany's economical world-power.

This must suffice as an outline of the main string of thought running through this book, which is not only logically arranged as to the subject it treats, but, moreover, is written in an unusually attractive, well-balanced, and vividly concrete style.

KARL DETLEV JESSEN.

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Essais sur le mouvement ouvrier en France. By DANIEL HALÉVY.

Paris: Société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition (Librairie Georges Bellais), 1901. 8vo, pp. 300.

THE several phases of the labor movement in France with which M. Halévy deals in this little volume may be indicated briefly as the organization of labor into unions, its association in co-operative enterprises, its appeal to political action in the development of socialism, and the reaction manifest in anarchistic tendencies. The essays are excellently done. The author, though catholic in sympathy, and an apologist for excesses committed by and in the name of organized labor, has, nevertheless, perfectly definite convictions which he does not hesitate to state frankly—at times badly. He believes some form of organization to be an essential condition of industrial progress. Labor organizations and labor leaders in England and America have, he thinks, had fairer treatment and consideration than they have received in France, where labor leaders have been persecuted by employers, maligned in the public press, and even denied by those of their own fellow workmen who have profited by their unselfish devotion. Black-listed, driven from place to place in search of employment, reduced to absolute destitution, these men have, according to Mr. Halévy, often had upon their side both law and justice. They have had assurance in the enactment of one labor law after another, of certain rights and privileges—the right, for example, of organization into unions, and the guarantee of protection against persecution by employers, but, socially and practically, these rights have been denied them, and the law defied. The industrial hierarchy within the nation has proved too strong for the political democracy, which has recorded its mandates in public statutes only to have them set aside. M. Halévy writes:

The nation politically organized has granted a new privilege and the same nation socially organized has opposed the exercise of that privilege. Legislators have authorized, property holders have interdicted. On the one hand they have said Yes; on the other, No; but the Yes has been a mere printed page and the No has taken the practical form of giving or withholding wages, that is to say, life itself.

The *chasse au syndique* has thus continued uninterrupted in total disregard of legislation, and some other policy than this, declares M. Halévy, must now be adopted, if the community is ever to enjoy a régime of industrial peace. The labor leader, though he may not be a trained diplomat, nor over tactful in manner, must, nevertheless, be accepted as spokesman for his fellows—their chosen and authorized delegate just as his employer, the manager of a stock company or corporation, is the chosen delegate representing the whole body of shareholders. The delegation of power is a fundamental and universally recognized principle in democracy, and the wage-earner is, therefore, perfectly justified in designating certain of his fellows to be his representatives in all dealings with employers. It is pointed out that collective bargaining is, indeed, inconceivable where there is no such organization and delegation of power, and further that the delegation of power itself implies submission of individual judgment and preference to authority—implies discipline and obedience, and is to that extent itself a guarantee of social order.

English and American employers, it may be noted, are pretty generally agreed today that the organization of labor in the more important fields of industry is inevitable where it is not an accomplished fact already, and that it may be advantageous to all concerned, that is to say, to the entire community. The labor problem is not any longer conceived, even by employers, to be one of breaking down and preventing such organization. The labor union and the labor leaders are accepted, and the problem today is how shall they be made to assume their proper responsibilities as established social institutions. How shall they be made to fulfil agreements entered into directly with employers, and indirectly, but no less really, with the industrial community? How shall the community enforce these compacts in which it certainly has at stake vital interests? The individual who breaks the peace is promptly summoned to court, locked up, and punished. If he enters into an agreement he is held responsible for its fulfilment, and made liable for damages to the full extent of his property in event of nonfulfilment. A labor organization must be held equally account-

able. A way must be found of socializing these great collective personalities which have so often in the past manifested anti-social disruptive tendencies. Organized labor is the natural complement of organized capital, and the alternative to organization is, on the one hand, anarchy, on the other, industrial disintegration. The division of labor means the socialization of industry, since it makes the welfare of one group of laborers dependent upon the conduct of other groups, and the extent of this interdependency of industrial groups measures and determines the right of the community to interfere to preserve industrial peace.

The history of the labor movement in any country is, as M. Halévy observes, only partially written out, while the greater part of that history has perished with those who enacted it. The wage-earner has been occupied with his labor, silently achieving his own emancipation, and he has not concerned himself with making a record of his purposes, his failures, or his victories. He has gained a point here, resisted an encroachment there. M. Halévy regards the organization or co-operative association of labor in any form whatever as a means of further enlightenment and of concerted action. It is, therefore, he thinks, a means of industrial and social progress, and herein lies its sufficient justification. The labor movement is not national in character, but international, and the movement in France, while possessing features peculiarly French, presents, in the main, the experience and course of that movement in other countries as well. It is a movement toward organization, reflection, regulation, and direction of labor forces toward a régime of negotiation, conciliation, and amicable adjustment of difference. On the whole it is a movement toward industrial peace.

One does not put by M. Halévy's volume without feeling increased respect for French scholarship, and French genius for felicitous and final statement. The fine art of clear thinking, of adequate expression, and of tactful persuasion is the particular glory of French scholars.

JOHN CUMMINGS.

Grundbedingungen der gesellschaftlichen Wohlfahrt. By SAMUEL RÉVAL. Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1902. 8vo, pp. xxxi + 692.

It is a favorite maneuver of the Utopian to draw up a mile-long indictment of Things-as-they-Are, knowing well that no imagination is competent to picture with equal vividness and detail the shortcomings